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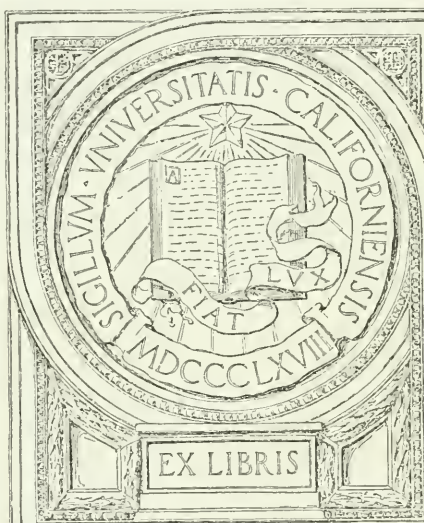
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Speeches
by
Hon. Eugene Hale

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
AT LOS ANGELES



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PANAMA CANAL APPROPRIATIONS
AND
PARTICIPATION IN THE MOROCCO CONFERENCE AND IN
EUROPEAN INTERNATIONAL COMPLICATIONS.

SPEECHES

OF

HON. EUGENE HALE,
OF MAINE,

IN THE

UNITED STATES SENATE,

DECEMBER 15 AND 16, 1905,
AND
JANUARY 15, 1906.

WASHINGTON.
1906.

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SPEECHES

OF

HON. EUGENE HALE.

The Senate having under consideration the bill (H. R. 480) supplemental to an act entitled "An act to provide for the construction of a canal connecting the waters of the Atlantic and Pacific oceans," approved June 28, 1902, and making appropriation for isthmian canal construction, and for other purposes—

Mr. HALE said:

Mr. PRESIDENT: From my information on this subject, I think the Government was very fortunate in securing the services of Mr. Shonts. I know something about him. He is a man of great executive ability. He had displayed that not only in reference to the railroad of which he was president, but in other railroad enterprises. He is a man after the order of mind of the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. TILLMAN]; he is courageous; he takes responsibility; he knows how to say "no," and, from my acquaintance with him, I believe he has the discrimination to settle the proper time when to say "no;" and he has great force and executive ability. I think if he is given pretty free rein he will advance the work down there faster than anybody else ever has advanced it or is likely to.

I did not mean, in rising, to interrupt the Senator to go generally into this matter, but as special attention has been called to it I thought perhaps the Senator might not be unwilling for me to give my views about Mr. Shonts and his relation to the enterprise.

Now, as to whether technically there has been a resignation of his presidency of his railroad, I do not know. I supposed that he had resigned. I know that when he took up the canal work it was upon the agreement that he should give his entire time and ability to it and that he should in great degree have control and not be hampered in the work. He is that kind of man that he does not desire any kind of work unless he can carry out his views to their ultimate result. I think I may say that, while I do not know whether technically he has presented his resignation or not, he has given himself faithfully and his entire time to this work.

Later in the discussion I may have something more to say about this, but just at this time I wanted to say this of Mr. Shonts.

Mr. TILLMAN. I want the Senate clearly to understand that I am not after any particular man. I had never heard of Mr. Shonts, except through the newspapers, until his appointment. I saw him the other day and was favorably impressed with him.

I have no malice against him. I am not gunning for him at all, as the phrase might be. He may be the right man in the right place; I hope he is; but I am merely dealing with the general management as we find it and trying to get at the true inwardness of the situation.

The Senator says he thinks Mr. Shonts has resigned. How many times has he been to the Isthmus in the seven or eight months that he has held office? Twice, I understand, and then for a week only.

Mr. HALE. Mr. President—

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from South Carolina yield to the Senator from Maine?

Mr. TILLMAN. Oh, with pleasure. If I am misstating or misunderstanding conditions, I should like to be corrected.

Mr. HALE. My understanding is that the law requires that there be—I may be wrong—sessions held on the Isthmus four times a year.

Mr. TILLMAN. A session might be an hour or it might be a month.

Mr. ALLISON. The requirement in regard to sessions on the Isthmus is in the President's order.

Mr. HALE. It is in the President's order, based upon the Spooner Act, but I do not think it is contemplated that the chairman of the Commission shall spend most of his time on the Isthmus. The engineer necessarily has to do so, as has Governor Magoon.

Mr. TILLMAN. Governor Magoon has really very little or no connection with the canal. It is Mr. Stevens at present, and it was formerly Mr. Wallace.

Mr. HALE. Mr. Stevens is engineer and does necessarily have to reside on the Isthmus, and Governor Magoon is part of the machinery of the whole thing.

Mr. TILLMAN. He is running the civil branch down there, and he is at Panama.

Mr. HALE. He is at Panama. But if the civil machinery runs badly it would interfere with the canal. He stays on the Isthmus. How much time Mr. Shonts has spent there I do not know, but, knowing him as I do, I do not believe he has in any way shirked any responsibilities and come away from the Isthmus when he was needed there.

Mr. TILLMAN. I do not charge that he has. I am merely trying to find out how he is discharging the great and important duty that has been imposed upon him, for which he is being so well paid. I understand he has only been there twice—one week in July and one week in October; and I see in the New York Herald of this morning an article from a special correspondent, in which he says that all those from Washington connected with the Canal Commission, including Mr. Shonts, who go down there, act as though they were expecting to catch yellow fever as soon as they get off the ship and they hustle at a double-quick to get away. I presume I would like to get away, too, if I were running that risk, but still a man ought not to be paid for something he does not do, and at least as the important head of a great work it would appear necessary for Mr. Shonts thoroughly to familiarize himself with all the conditions there of any moment and to be able intelligently to direct from here the cam-

paign in building the canal. That is the only contention I am trying to make.

Mr. HALE. The Senator has expressed that very well. He has expressed in words better than I could what Mr. Shonts's duty is—so to inform himself of conditions there that he is able to manage and supervise and see that the right thing is done. I have no doubt Mr. Shonts has done just that.

Mr. TILLMAN. I would a heap rather have a committee go down there, run the risk of getting yellow fever, and have a fight with the mosquitoes, and not carry along a bucket of white-wash prepared to smear it on anything they found wrong, and come away and say so. There are some reasons why I have that opinion, and I will give them before I get through.

I wish now to ask another question. Mr. W. Leon Pepperman, who is chief clerk of the Commission, or rather he is assistant chief, as they call it, is also, I am informed, or was, an employee or official of the Clover Leaf road, and is still an employee of the Clover Leaf road, and is doing work for it. Is that true or not?

Mr. HALE. I can only say that I do not know the least thing about it.

Mr. TILLMAN. I am sorry we did not go a little more fully into this investigation when we had Mr. Shonts and those other gentlemen in the Appropriations Committee room the other day. The thing was so hurried there and there seemed to be such intense pressure to get this money available that we did not really probe as deeply and as thoroughly into the various phases of the business as I think we ought to have done. This phase of it will illustrate the absolute necessity, as I take it, for the Inter-oceanic Canals Committee to begin, at the very earliest date after it has been organized and the vacancies have been filled, to perform its legitimate functions as the intermediary between the Senate and the canal and its control and direction, and give us light whenever we ask for it and be able intelligently to discuss these matters.

Mr. HALE. I agree entirely with the Senator that that committee ought to do that.

Mr. TILLMAN. I do not see how they are going to do it unless they go down there. I do not want the Senate to order them off on a kind of a risky expedition that might involve some of them being hauled home on ice, but the duty should be imposed on somebody, and I confess I want to see it performed.

Mr. HALE. Now, will the Senator allow me for a moment? This reference to Mr. Pepperman—

Mr. TILLMAN. I simply ask for information whether or not he is still an employee or an officer of the Clover Leaf road and is not engaged a good part of his time in transacting railroad business?

Mr. HALE. If the Senator has investigated—

Mr. TILLMAN. I am asking. I want to know. I want somebody else to investigate. I can not investigate.

Mr. HALE. Nobody has any absolute knowledge or is infallible about this matter. I do not believe it is true. I doubt if the Senator has, although he may have, information, any more than a statement or rumor, that this man Pepperman, who is employed on the canal work, employed by the Isthmian Canal Commission, employed by Mr. Shonts as its chairman,

with whom he had been associated in railroad work before, who certainly has duties enough to absorb all his time and all his ability, is at the same time employed by a railroad corporation and is giving them a part of his time and is being paid therefor.

I shall be very much surprised, Mr. President, if investigation by whomsoever it is made discloses that fact. Should it disclose that fact, I should say that that is a grievance and a wrong which ought to be righted at once. We hear a great many things; we hear a great many rumors, and statements are made in reference to this and that which investigation does not disclose as being well founded.

Mr. TILLMAN. I am only sorry, as I said, that we did not have more time, or were not able in the brief time at our disposal, to make examination of the gentlemen before the committee. If they swear or say on their honor that they are no longer connected with the road and have received no compensation for work done for the road, that will satisfy me.

Mr. HALE. If we had thought of it——

Mr. TILLMAN. I say it illustrates the miserable policy we are pursuing, if the Senator will permit me. As long as the House of Representatives, under its present organization—and I have no right possibly to mention it even, because I want to be entirely respectful to the coordinate legislative body—continues the policy of making bond provisions and emergency appropriations parts of the same bill and will not allow examination, and the committee report it under the rule and gag everybody and double-quick it through and send it over here, and then we in less degree imitate their drastic processes and double-quick it through, so long the intelligent performance of our duties is impossible; and having no hope that the House is going to change its procedure, at least in the near future, it impresses upon me the greater responsibility of the Senate to legislate intelligently and to be able to inform the country just what is going on, and be able to justify any appropriations of public money and be able also in a measure to certify to its honest expenditure.

Mr. HALE. Undoubtedly.

Mr. TILLMAN. That is all I am trying to bring about.

Mr. HALE. But the Senator will recognize the situation. We were confronted with an undoubted and an undisputed necessity for making this appropriation early. It did not come within our province to go into all of the investigation with reference to the situation. But I think the Senator will bear me out that as a result of the day, the long day, which we spent in faithful examination, in bringing these officials before us and searching them with such questioning as brought out the facts, and important facts, the committee obtained a very valuable education.

Now, I do not say that it did all that it could have done if it had been a committee to which was intrusted the whole subject-matter. If it had been that kind of a committee and we had gone into it to that extent, it would have taken weeks, and the other committee of the Senate that will take it up, whenever it reaches it, will find its work very laborious and very extended and most important.

But I think the Senator, who has been long a member, and an active and important member, of the Committee on Appro-

priations, will see that, confronted as we were with the necessity of making this appropriation, we could not spend more time on it. The holidays were impending. It is well known you can not keep Senators here. It will be all that the veteran chairman of the committee, who has charge of this bill, can do to get the bill in conference before the House and the Senate practically dissolve, and the Members hie away to their respective homes. We had that in view, and the committee is a practical kind of a committee, dealing with all those questions, and I do not think the Senator himself, with his experience in the Senate and on that committee, will say seriously that he thinks we have slighted the public interest in not going into all these questions.

It did not occur to me that there was any question—I never heard it raised—that either Mr. Shonts, whom I do know a good deal about, or Mr. Pepperman, about whom I know little or nothing, was still connected in any way with any railroad enterprise and not giving his entire time to the canal business. I hope an investigation will show to the Senator that while this has been stated to him, or a memorandum given to him, he will find he is mistaken in that regard.

Mr. ALLISON. I wish to say in addition to what has been said, and so well said, by the Senator from Maine, that the inquiry by the Senator now in respect to these two gentlemen is the first intimation I have ever had that either or both of them were not giving their whole time to this work in which they are engaged. I had not for a moment supposed that in the examination we had the other day it was necessary to ask Mr. Shonts if he was giving his attention to this business, nor did I for a moment suppose that Mr. Pepperman was not doing it.

Mr. CULBERSON. Mr. President—

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from South Carolina yield to the Senator from Texas?

Mr. TILLMAN. With pleasure.

Mr. CULBERSON. I wish to say to the Senator from South Carolina that I have no personal acquaintance with Mr. Pepperman, but as a member of the Philippines Committee I know he has been connected for some time with the War Department. He was connected with the Bureau of Insular Affairs of the War Department before he had any connection with the Panama Canal, as I understand. While I am unable to state positively that he no longer has any connection with any railroad company, I think it altogether improbable that he has any such connection.

Mr. TILLMAN. I am not going to be satisfied, I will state right here, with anybody's belief, because beliefs do not answer in this case. I will take the words of these gentlemen that they have severed their connection and the dates when they did it. That is all; and there is no need for this quasi or indirect defense. The best evidence, according to my knowledge of evidence, is to get it direct; and these gentlemen are available, and let us get it direct.

Mr. HALE. Indeed we will.

Mr. TILLMAN. Well—

Mr. HALE. I have just had this statement given me:

Pepperman was never with the Clover Leaf or any other road. He has been in the Government service for ten years or more—in the civil government of the Philippine Islands and chief clerk of the Insular Bureau before being transferred to the canal work.

That is in correspondence with the impression of the Senator from Texas [Mr. CULBERSON].

Mr. TILLMAN. By whom is that signed?

Mr. HALE. I do not know who it is.

Mr. TILLMAN. I would rather the Senator would not read it. We do not want any anonymous communications sent in here.

Mr. HALE. I venture to say it is better authority and will be better borne out by the facts on investigation than the so-called authority that the Senator has launched upon the Senate and charged this man with what has never taken place.

Mr. TILLMAN. I have not charged it. I have made an inquiry.

Mr. HALE. No; but the Senator has stated—

Mr. TILLMAN. No; I did not state. I said it was what I have heard.

Mr. HALE. That is it.

Mr. TILLMAN. Very well.

Mr. HALE. This is what I have heard.

Mr. TILLMAN. No; you did not hear that. You got that in writing. You can not even tell who wrote it.

Mr. HALE. Neither has the Senator stated how he heard that this man is still employed by the railroad company. The Senator can take this memorandum. Nobody would send me a memorandum unless he knew what he was talking about.

Mr. TILLMAN. It is very easy to write a thing. I want the Canal Committee, for which I wanted to get a job the other day, given some work. I am afraid they will grow rusty unless somebody puts them to work.

Mr. HALE. The Senator is wrong about this man.

Mr. TILLMAN. I hope I am. I would be the last one to accuse a man of something that might be off color or dishonest. I make an inquiry that is very necessary to be made. If you get the Railway Guide of the United States, you will find Mr. Shonts's name in it. Take the Railway Guide for November, the month just gone, and he is still noted as president of the Clover Leaf road, and is published as such. It may be that the printer had the type stereotyped and did not take the trouble to change it, but I think that the Clover Leaf Railroad keeps up with the changes in administration as well as with the changes in schedules.

Mr. HALE. I can say to the Senator that this memorandum was handed to me while on my feet by the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. KITTREDGE], who is on the Committee on Inter-oceanic Canals. It was given to him by a well-known correspondent here in Washington, who signs his name, and the Senator can read it. I think it is Ohl.

Mr. TILLMAN. I am not sufficiently interested in that to care to read it.

Mr. HALE. I see the Senator is not. I am.

Mr. TILLMAN. I am not, for this reason: If these men should state that they are not still connected with the railroad and are not getting paid by it for work done for it while they are getting pay from the Government as canal commissioners and officers, I want to know it. There is so much in the shape of smoke—stench, I had almost said—that I should like to have the thing ventilated fully.

Mr. HALE. I hope the Senator will not make any more charges as serious as this one—

Mr. TILLMAN. I have not made any charges.

Mr. HALE. Unless he has some testimony.

Mr. TILLMAN. I have not made a charge. I have asked a question. I thought you gentlemen on the other side would probably be able to answer it authoritatively, but you are not.

Mr. ALLISON. Mr. President—

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from South Carolina yield to the Senator from Iowa?

Mr. TILLMAN. Always.

Mr. ALLISON. The Senator from South Carolina says he has information on the subject or has learned that Mr. Shonts, for example, is still president of the Clover Leaf Railroad Company.

Mr. TILLMAN. I have given the Railway Guide, which can be found in the Sergeant-at-Arms' office, as authority for it.

Mr. ALLISON. I was about to ask the Senator if he had knowledge of this on yesterday.

Mr. TILLMAN. No; I did not. I went in and looked myself as soon as I heard he was connected with the Clover Leaf road.

Mr. ALLISON. I merely wanted to call attention to the fact that this information was in the possession of the Senator from South Carolina yesterday, and therefore he could have asked the question.

Mr. TILLMAN. I did not know yesterday, but if I had known it yesterday it would have availed nothing, as it was day before yesterday when we had our hearing in the Appropriations Committee room. I certainly would not have gone out without asking the question if I had known about it then.

So much for that. Now, let us come to another phase. In the hearing we had before the committee the other day it was brought out that among the appointees or employees of the Canal Commission is one gentleman by the name of Bishop, whose duties were pretty clearly set forth in that hearing—I will read them directly—but about the necessity for whose employment we were not entirely satisfied. I find in the minutes of the Isthmian Canal Commission of October 30 this resolution:

Upon motion of Commissioner Ernst, seconded by Commissioner Hains, it was

Resolved, That to facilitate the dispatch of current business at the Washington office of the Commission, the chairman be, and he hereby is, empowered to authorize and direct in writing the secretary of the Commission or other employee of the Commission to approve for payment, under the caption "By direction of the chairman," vouchers for any payments by the Commission, and to make requisition for supplies for the maintenance of said Washington office.

Mr. Bishop is Mr. Shonts's appointee, and it appears that there are occasions when both Shonts and Pepperman are absent from the main office here, and that it was necessary, in order to have the business go on, for somebody else to be authorized to sign. So Mr. Bishop was empowered in that resolution. I will deal a little more fully with Mr. Bishop by reading from the testimony of Secretary Taft at the hearing:

Senator TILLMAN. I notice that the secretary of the Commission gets \$10,000.

Secretary TAFT. Yes, sir.

Senator TILLMAN. Does the Commission sit here?

Secretary TAFT. It does, part of the time.

Senator TILLMAN. Practically all the time?

Secretary TAFT. Practically; it sat here most of the time.

Senator TILLMAN. I say, practically all the time?

Secretary TAFT. Well, its minutes are kept here. The records are kept here, and a very large part of the clerical work is done here, though by direction it has to meet four times a year on the Isthmus.

Mr. LODGE. Mr. President—

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from South Carolina yield to the Senator from Massachusetts?

Mr. TILLMAN. Certainly.

Mr. LODGE. I know the Senator has got away from Mr. Pepperman, but perhaps he will allow me, as I have the official record from the Bureau of Insular Affairs, to state that Mr. Pepperman went to the Philippines, in our civil service, in 1900, but for many years previous to that he had been an examiner under the Civil Service Commission in Washington; that after he returned from the Philippines, in 1901, he entered the Bureau of Insular Affairs, where he has remained until the present time; and, so far as the Bureau of Insular Affairs knows, he has had no connection whatever with any railroad at all, but has been in the service of the Government for the last ten or fifteen years.

Mr. TILLMAN. That is all right, but I want Mr. Pepperman himself to say. I am not going to take any secondary evidence when I can get the original man; that is all.

Mr. LODGE. That is the report of the bureau in which he has been employed.

Mr. TILLMAN. I do not want to appear to doubt the integrity of purpose and the perfect honesty and honorable dealing of any of these gentlemen. I do not want—

Mr. LODGE. But, Mr. President, the Senator from South Carolina, with no authority that I have heard him cite except that of rumor, has been casting very serious reflections on this gentleman. I never heard of Mr. Pepperman in my life until the other day, but I think any man is entitled to be taken on the official record furnished by the War Department rather than on the rumors of newspapers until at least he can be heard from.

Mr. TILLMAN. I only want to have him heard from instead of having Senators get up here and give us secondary evidence. That is all there is to it.

I have received a communication, and I will see what it says. [After a pause, reading:]

I have just talked over the phone with Mr. Pepperman, whom I know very well. He was never and is not now connected with the Clover Leaf Railroad. He has been in Government service twelve years, and I am sorry that somebody apparently has misinformed you.

All right. I apologize to Mr. Pepperman.

Mr. SPOONER. The Senator's correspondent may have been talking to some other man over the phone.

Mr. TILLMAN. Hardly. We almost always recognize the voice. I could tell the voice of the Senator from Wisconsin, even from Milwaukee, at my house over the long-distance telephone. I will gamble on it. That is a little too thin. That is some more special pleading.

I come back to Mr. Bishop, since Mr. Pepperman has disappeared and is not a person who is a little off on drawing two salaries.

Mr. SPOONER. The Senator from South Carolina was a little off.

Mr. TILLMAN. I will say I was a little off. I am willing to acknowledge it, and when that is the case will straighten up things any time and anywhere. I hope Mr. Shonts will come out of the situation with equal credit to himself—honestly I do. I was reading from the testimony of Secretary Taft.

Mr. FORAKER. What page?

Mr. TILLMAN. Page 53.

Senator TILLMAN. I notice that particular officer [Mr. Bishop] because I can not see why the mere keeping of the records of the work of the Commission requires so much skill or so much brains.

Secretary TAFT. He is the historian of the Commission. He was employed at a time when it was thought necessary to have a man of very considerable journalistic experience, for the reason that the attacks on the canal, its construction, and the preposterous misrepresentations concerning everything, both on the Isthmus and here, had gotten to such a point that it seemed necessary for the Commission to protect itself in some way.

Senator TILLMAN. So he is the press agent, then, of whom we have heard in the debate?

Secretary TAFT. You can call him a press agent if you choose to.

Senator TILLMAN. I would not call him that, except from your description of him.

Secretary TAFT. Well, that was added to his duties as the secretary of the Commission, the recorder of the Commission, and its historian.

Senator TILLMAN. Is it the duty of this Commission to run a political campaign to defend itself?

Secretary TAFT. No, sir; but it is the duty of the Commission to correct impressions that are circulated maliciously for the purpose of interfering with its work.

Senator TILLMAN. But ought not those to come through you, through official reports and data, rather than through communications to the press?

Secretary TAFT. No; it is not a question of communications to the press. I can communicate matters to the press; but the question is of running down every misrepresentation over this country. He has a record there that would startle people—the stories that have been started with a view simply of impeding the work of the canal.

Mr. SPOONER. Will the Senator allow me to interrupt him for a moment?

Mr. TILLMAN. With pleasure, always.

Mr. SPOONER. Is the Senator reading from page 53?

Mr. TILLMAN. I am reading from page 53 of the first edition. I think they have added to it two or three pages, and you will find it on page 54 or 55 in the edition you have.

Mr. SPOONER. That is what I wanted to interrupt the Senator for. I have page 53, and it does not contain that statement.

Mr. TILLMAN. I got the first publication that was sent to the Committee on Appropriations, and I have not taken the trouble, having marked my copy, to go to the newer and later edition.

We have there the statement by the Secretary, who is, of course, at last directly responsible, for he is Mr. Shonts's superior officer, that the Canal Commission has in its employ a man of ability as a journalist and of long experience. I think in his own testimony he stated that he had been editor of the New York Herald or Tribune, or some such paper, and there is no doubt about his mental acumen and brightness. We found that out very readily when we began to cross-question him. They pay this man \$10,000 a year. Yet he has never been to Panama and he has no special aptitude, as I can see, for any work that the Commission needs to have done. It is not, I believe—at least I have never heard it before—customary, to use the phrase of the Senator from Maine; it is an innovation in any

department of the Government, however important, to take the public money and employ a man at a high salary—twice what I get—to exploit its work and to defend it through the press.

It is very evident that his labor, from his own testimony, is comparatively light. The Commission meets only occasionally, all its meetings are short ones, and the mere keeping of the minutes and the other ordinary work of a secretary, I think, could be done by any first-class clerk in this city at \$2,000 or \$3,000, which would appear to me to have been ample for such a thing or even for a first-class newspaper man. I presume that we have on the newspapers in Washington as bright a class of men as this country affords, and some of them get very high salaries—William E. Curtis, for one that I recall, and several others whose pay goes up into the thousands. But it is the purpose of employing this man that I am criticising or discussing; and he has a clerk whose sole duty appears to be, according to his own statement, to read some hundred and odd leading newspapers from all over the United States, of all the cities, and mark every article that is for or against the Canal Commission's work, in praise of it, or in criticism of it, and anything that strikes him as important he submits to the Canal Commission.

So we find that the process of hypnotizing public opinion or of misinforming the people is in progress here at a very great expense; and the first thing that struck me when this matter was brought out was that people who were entirely innocent and who need on defense would not take the trouble to be worried and put a \$10,000 man at work upon the duty of defending them.

The Commission undoubtedly did this by Secretary Taft's approval and also that of the President, and I can not for the life of me see what justification there is for the public money to be spent in that way. The press representatives in Washington may some of them be dirty and low in their instincts, be disposed to lie or misrepresent.

It is charged by Secretary Taft that this crusade, I will say, was an organized one, that the effort to flyblow the work of the Commission and to belittle it, to confuse the public mind, had gone to such length that he felt it absolutely necessary to do something to defend the Commission and keep it from losing the confidence of Congress. There is mention made of a concerted, organized scheme of obstruction which would, as the Secretary feared, produce want of confidence, alarm the public mind as regards the probable ultimate cost of the canal, and in the end defeat it, or if not defeat it bring about a retardation of its construction that would be beneficial to these railroads that were mentioned as furnishing the fund.

Mr. GALLINGER. Hinted at.

Mr. TILLMAN. Mr. Bishop said he himself was offered \$12,000 by this opposing organization, and he mentioned the three dead elements of opposition, the Nicaragua route, the Darien route, and the Tehuantepec route, as being in the combine; but he was very tender and unwilling to locate the railroad opposition. Now, that is something which our Committee on Inter-oceanic Canals might, if it sees fit, find out, if it is worth while.

I asked Secretary Taft if he felt there was any instrumentality on earth that could defeat the construction of the Panama

Canal now that the United States has gone about it, and he said he did not think it could, but that it would retard it, and that is all these people hope to do. If they are willing to pay \$12,000 for Mr. Bishop to lead an organized movement of slander and abuse and misrepresentation and lying, and all that kind of thing, it is worth our while to see whether there is any conspiracy on foot here looking to befuddle the minds of Senators and Congressmen to get us confused.

I remarked, and I still think, that as soon as we get rid of the suspicion which is now abroad, that the Canal Commission and its head, the chief engineer, and Mr. Shonts and others occupying the higher places have gained the confidence of the country—and I hope they will if they have not already got it—that as soon as they shall have demonstrated their business capacity and their earnest zeal in carrying forward this great work successfully at the minimum of expense, all of this swarm of gnats, or mosquitos, or whatever other simile you might use, of misrepresentation, will disappear entirely.

But I believe the newspapers of this country would be glad to publish the truth. One of them, the Herald, has now a special correspondent on the Isthmus who is sending home some very interesting reading, by the way, which I will bring to the attention of this body presently. While he is only a newspaper correspondent, I happen to know him personally, and I have not the slightest doubt that he is telling the God's truth as he sees it.

It looks like we are almost as far away from the Panama Canal as we were from the Philippines. We never could get anything from there, the trouble being that the language shut off the plaintiff in the case, and we were the defendants, and there never was any indictment brought that would go very far. We got into the administration of the water cure and some cold-blooded murders through that instrumentality, and there were very unpleasant incidents brought out in one way or another; but let us hope for God's sake, for the honor of the country, that we will have nothing of this sort in the way of dishonorable practices and speculation in Panama.

Mr. HALE. Mr. President—

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from South Carolina yield to the Senator from Maine?

Mr. TILLMAN. Certainly.

Mr. HALE. I think the Senator will bear me out in this statement. I think when the statement made by Mr. Bishop was put before the Committee on Appropriations there was this general feeling about it. In the first place, Mr. Bishop himself did not in any way hesitate or qualify or give any intention of a desire to conceal his relations to the Commission. He stated in answer to questions put by the Senator, by the chairman, and by me that his duty was as a historian, a literary editor; that his connection with the Commission, so far as any actual clerical or secretary's duties were concerned, was very little. When we followed him up he stated that his method of conducting this position as literary secretary and as historian was twofold—first, to accumulate information for the purpose of writing a history of the canal, which he will do in due time, and, next, to gather newspaper comments and intelligence from the press everywhere and disseminate that. We asked for

what purpose, and I used the phrase, "Were you doing this to manufacture public opinion?" His reply was, "Not to manufacture," and I said the phrase was not used offensively, but Mr. Bishop means that it was done for the purpose of creating public sentiment.

Now, I think the feeling admitted universally was that it is an innovation; that for any branch of the Government to seek to make public sentiment by incorporating into its duties a press department that shall communicate with the newspapers for the purpose of creating public sentiment is what has never been done. Every great event in our history has been criticised mercilessly. Every great public man who has illustrated our history and our annals has been cruelly and mercilessly criticised, and has borne it, and has looked to time and the work that he has done to justify him. He has not felt it necessary to have a press bureau in order to create public sentiment. If Mr. Shonts is responsible, or if the Secretary is responsible for this departure from all usage heretofore. I am bound to say that I think they have made a mistake.

But, Mr. President, sensitive, as we should be, to any attempt of this kind to incorporate a press agency with a department of the Government to manufacture or to make public sentiment, the newspapers ought to be ten times as sensitive as we are to anything of this kind.

Mr. TILLMAN. And I think they are.

Mr. HALE. The press of the country is a great estate. The newspapers make great mistakes and are sometimes cruelly unjust, both to men and to measures. But as a rule their purpose is high because the objects they seek are for the public good, and they are a great and beneficent power in the land.

But, Mr. President, if the Government or any part of the Government establishes as a part of its duties a press agency to create public sentiment through disseminating their statements and their reports to the press, you have got first a prejudiced press; you have got a selected press. The newspapers are selected to disseminate this intelligence and make this public sentiment, and at last, if you have an unscrupulous Administration, you have a hireling press.

The preference that is given by the selection of newspapers to disseminate the Government's views in order to make sentiment before the public is a thing that the newspapers ought to be more sensitive about than we, and we ought to be very sensitive. I think it was the feeling of the entire committee that this was an innovation, and a most unfortunate innovation.

Mr. TILLMAN. The Senator from Maine, in his usual forceful way, has stated in better terms than I could the feeling, as I gathered it, of every member who was present. We do not think that it is the business of any department of this Government to take public money to undertake to bamboozle us or the people either, or to defend themselves, whether they are accused justly or unjustly. They must rely upon the integrity of their motives and the purity of their administration to get the confidence of Congress and the good will of the people.

But, nevertheless, we have got this very thing which the Senator has condemned in such strong terms, and we are paying \$10,000 for the luxury. I do not know whether it is an oriental method or not, but you know what is meant by the freedom of

the press. I rather think this is a Russian method, or a kind of an importation from St. Petersburg as St. Petersburg used to be, by which certain things were inspired.

December 16.

Mr. CULBERSON. I ask that the amendment which I submitted yesterday be read.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The amendment will be read.

The SECRETARY. On page 3, line 22, it is proposed to insert the following:

Provided, That no part of the money hereby appropriated shall be used to pay the expenses of a literary bureau connected with the Isthmian Canal Commission or pay the salary, compensation, or allowance, by whatever name called, of any person who may be engaged in such work for or in behalf of said Commission.

Mr. CULBERSON. Mr. President, while the purpose of this amendment is fairly obvious, a word or two about it may not be inappropriate. Prior to the selection of the present secretary of the Commission that place was held by another, who, so far as I know, was thoroughly competent, and who was paid a salary of \$5,000. On account of the inhospitable climate of Panama, the occupant resigned the position of secretary and the present occupant of that office was employed and the salary of the office increased from \$5,000 to \$10,000. The salary was increased because, in addition to the ordinary duties of secretary, he was constituted the historian or the chief of the literary bureau, or the literary secretary of the Commission. In the hearing before the Committee on Appropriations he stated what his duties were with far greater frankness, in my judgment, than did the Secretary of War or the chairman of the Canal Commission.

This amendment has no personal feature. It is aimed at the innovation; it is aimed at the unhealthy policy which is attempted by these proceedings to be ingrafted upon government in this country. I repeat, Mr. President, though it is hardly necessary to do so, that the amendment is not aimed at a personality. I never heard of this gentleman before, but he seems to be a gentleman of education and intelligence, and, what is of far greater consequence in these times, an honest and a candid and straightforward man.

Now let us see what he says. I shall not weary the Senate with a long extract from these papers. When other witnesses undertook to befog the situation, to lay stress on his duties as secretary, and to minimize his duties as literary secretary, or chief of the literary bureau, this gentleman was frank enough to say:

Senator HALE. As you said a while ago, in answer to my question, it was understood you were the literary secretary?

Mr. BISHOP. Yes.

Senator HALE. Now, the keeping up of communication, the receiving of those newspapers, and so on, the seeing that clippings are made of criticisms upon the Commission, seeing that they are kept on file, and the furnishing of information to newspapers, and the interviews and speeches of the Secretary of War and members of the Commission, and keeping the general run of the relations of the Commission to the public, that is the main part of your duty?

Mr. BISHOP. It is the main part.

Now, Mr. President, I have thought that much was necessary in explanation of the purpose of this amendment, and I would have more to say about it and about the impolicy of this innovation except for the fact that the lack of wisdom in it, to go

no further, is recognized by the Administration, and I am assured by the Senator from Maine [Mr. HALE] that this gross abuse, as I believe, of the use of public funds will be corrected in the administration of that office, and that no legislation is necessary. I understand that the assurance comes directly from the Administration that the impropriety of this attempt to create or to control or to direct public opinion with reference to one of the governmental agencies has been recognized, and that it will be done away with and eradicated without legislation. With that understanding, at the proper time I will withdraw this amendment, but only, Mr. President, in consideration of that assurance.

Mr. HALE. I do not wish to interrupt the Senator—

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Texas yield to the Senator from Maine?

Mr. CULBERSON. I have not concluded.

Mr. HALE. I do not wish to interrupt the Senator.

Mr. CULBERSON. I yield with pleasure to the Senator now.

Mr. HALE. I think it is entirely fitting that I should say something in relation to this matter brought out by the suggestion of the Senator from Texas. There is a difficulty in dealing with this situation by any legislative provision. The Senator has found that difficulty in framing any legislation or language that will meet the real evil. The real evil is recognized by everybody. As was stated in the debate yesterday, the Committee on Appropriations was a unit that this was an improper thing—that the duties of the secretary of this Commission should be changed from an actual secretary dealing with the business of the Commission to the work of building up a press bureau to deal with the newspapers; to collect information and select information and then disseminate it. That is not the business of the Government or any bureau of the Government.

The Committee on Appropriations was united upon this subject. It believed it to be an unfortunate, unjustifiable, and inexcusable innovation. The establishment and continuance of this office is an administrative measure. It is difficult to frame language that will reach this; but I am authorized to state here that the view taken by the Senator in offering his amendment, the view of the Committee on Appropriations, and of, I think, perhaps every Senator here, that it is an improper thing and a useless thing, and leads not only to no good result, but may be greatly abused, is recognized by the Administration; and hereafter the duties of this secretary, who, as the Senator says, personally appeared well—he did not attempt to dodge or in any way get away from the responsibility of answering questions plainly, but disclosed the whole situation—hereafter, as an administrative measure, the secretary of the Canal Commission is to be given administrative duties relating to the work of the Commission, and the whole form and machinery of what is called this "press bureau" is to be discontinued and abandoned. That will be done as an administrative measure, and there is no objection by anybody in the Administration to its being done. So I am glad that the Senator, seeing this and recognizing that what he seeks to accomplish will be accomplished, is ready to withdraw his amendment, so that we shall not be embarrassed with the difficulty of putting into words something that can be better done by administration.

Mr. CULBERSON. Mr. President, I wish to add, with refer-

ence to the amendment, that I trust this assurance carries with it also the idea that this salary will be readjusted as well as the duties of the place.

Mr. HALE. All questions of salaries are to be settled afterwards by another committee. I can not say to the Senate, as I did about the other essential part, that I considered or brought up the matter of salary, but when the Committee on Inter-oceanic Canals takes up the question of salaries it will deal with this as with all other salaries. We did not propose on this bill to deal with salaries.

PARTICIPATION IN THE MOROCCO CONFERENCE AND IN EUROPEAN INTERNATIONAL COMPLICATIONS.

The Senate having under consideration the following resolution submitted this day by Mr. BACON:

Resolved by the Senate, That interference with or participation in any controversy between European governments relating to European international questions is a violation of the well-settled, well-defined policy of this Government, which has been recognized and observed for more than a century past.—

Mr. HALE said:

Mr. PRESIDENT—

Mr. BACON. I promised I would yield in a moment to the Senator from Alabama [Mr. MORGAN] and that I would call his attention to an interruption he desired to make, so I hope the Senator from Maine will excuse me for a moment.

Mr. MORGAN. I desire merely to make an inquiry of the Senator from Georgia or any other Senator. I want to know whether we have any authentic or official statement of any invitation for the Government of the United States to participate in this serious conference? Has that been brought to the attention of the Senate? I suppose, Mr. President, that the character of the invitation would, in a large measure, if not entirely, determine the character in which we accepted it, in which we are to be represented, and the purpose for which we are to be represented in that conference, if you call it such. Therefore I think the Senate ought to be informed of the nature of the invitation, so as to see whether it is proper for the President of the United States to accept it in full or to accept it in part, or whether the acceptance of it would create that state of entangling alliance with foreign European governments in respect particularly of political questions that we have always denounced in every action heretofore taken, more particularly in sending our delegates to the Panama conference.

Mr. HALE. Mr. President—

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Georgia yield to the Senator from Maine?

Mr. BACON. Will the Senator from Maine allow me to answer the question of the Senator from Alabama?

Mr. HALE. I am called from the Chamber, and desire to say only a few words.

Mr. BACON. I will yield to the Senator from Maine [Mr. HALE] now, and will reply to the Senator from Alabama [Mr. MORGAN] later.

Mr. HALE. I only desire to say, Mr. President, that I do not in the least regret this discussion. I think in all matters relating to not only action upon treaties submitted to the Senate, but upon grave considerations involving the negotiation of

treaties, that the participation of the Senate was never by the framers of the Constitution intended to be shut out. I do not go so far as some Senators have gone in saying that until a treaty negotiated by the President is submitted to the Senate in terms the Senate shall stand dumb.

Mr. President, in that storehouse of information upon this subject, the Madison Papers—and the best form of those papers is the edition that was authorized by a resolution of Congress, edited by an eminent master of jurisprudence—whoever will go back to that fountain head of discussion and of consideration of all these great subjects, including the treaty-making power, will find that the participation of the Senate in all matters relating to treaties was most jealously guarded. Both Mr. Rutledge and Mr. Pinckney submitted the grave proposition that the entire treaty-making power should be left with the Senate. Mr. Dickinson and Doctor Franklin believed that it should be left to an Executive, with an executive council. Whoever examines that record and goes to the fountain head of information will find that the compromise, that was at last agreed upon only came after a determined resistance on the part of the advocates of the power of the Senate, that the Senate should still be in touch with all subjects-matter attending foreign relations either before or after a treaty should be submitted.

It is said that we may trust the Executive. I think we may; but what would happen if at some time there was an Executive that we could not trust? What would happen if an Executive should desire to rehabilitate his own fortunes or build up the waning strength of his party by a war issue, and the Senate believed and was convinced that there was danger of that? Must the Senate wait until the mischief is done?

Mr. SPOONER. Will the Senator allow me to ask him a question?

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Maine yield to the Senator from Wisconsin?

Mr. HALE. I do.

Mr. SPOONER. The Senator speaks outside of treaties. The Senator is not referring to treaties?

Mr. HALE. I am referring to steps that lead to treaties.

Mr. SPOONER. I should like to ask the Senator what would the Senate do in such a case?

Mr. HALE. I have no doubt, Mr. President, that if such a condition as that I have touched upon arose, and it was believed that an Executive for such reasons—they do not apply now, as I have indicated—was taking advantage of his power to commit the country to a war policy, I have no doubt that the Senate, in connection with the House of Representatives, could and would interfere by joint resolution and would not let that danger be presented to the Republic.

So, as I say, I do not go so far as some Senators do in believing that the Senate can do absolutely nothing until a treaty in form is launched before the Senate. But I am not troubled upon this matter now by any consideration of that kind. Under the administration of this Government as now conducted I do not believe that the Secretary of State, who has immediate charge of all these matters, will in any way involve this country, or let it be involved, in any of the controversies that will arise out of this conference between European powers. I think we may safely assume that the conservative

interests of the country will be guarded in that respect, and that the Senator need have no alarm.

I wish—I am not hesitant in saying that I wish—that the Secretary of State and the President acting together had determined not to send delegates to this conference. The conference is, as the Senator from Georgia [Mr. BACON] says, not a conference called to meet commercial questions. It is a simon-pure outright political conference. It has given rise to great excitement; the European press has all been full of it, and, I am sorry to say, Mr. President, that our press has been full of it—a thing with which we have little or no concern, and the less concern that we have with it the better.

I do not find fault. I can see that the Secretary of State and the President, being called upon, as I think they were, by this little fought-over country of Morocco to send delegates, determined to send them. I can not speak for the President or the Secretary of State, but I should, if I made a guess, think that if the matter were to come up now, in view of the discussions, in view of all the conditions, the President and the Secretary of State would hesitate to send delegates to this conference. But they have gone there.

The danger, Mr. President, is not from the President nor from the Secretary of State. The danger of this whole business is the still ascending prominence of the war sentiment in the country. The President is not accountable for that; the Secretary of State is not accountable for that; we are not accountable for that.

I picked up a copy of this morning's Post, Mr. President, and I have it here. It is a newspaper which deserves all that has been said of it by the Senator from Georgia. It means to be a careful paper, and it is mainly a conservative paper; but the Washington Post this morning has more than a whole column showing that our danger of getting into these complications and getting into entangling alliances is not from the President nor from the Secretary of State nor from us, but from outside sentiment. More than a whole column is given to this Moroccan question, to what will come of it, to the presence of our fleet at Gibraltar, and to the complications that will result. In the same paper, in a little inconspicuous place, is a notice of a common mine conference between all the operators of coal, all the representatives of the transportation of coal, and all the organizations that represent labor in the mining of coal and its transportation, but it is given no conspicuousness. Nobody thinks of that. The trouble is, Mr. President, that, under the incitement that the military sentiment is constantly pushing us forward to, with every officer of the Army and of the Navy eager and anxious for a complication that will bring us into war, the public attention is drifting away from the tremendous problems that at home are clutching at the foundation of our entire social and business and political fabric.

I hope to live long enough, it may be I shall not, when the obscure item which is given in the Post of this great meeting, involving all these great questions of coal transportation, of coal mining, and the interests of coal operators, the interests that labor has, will excite some attention, and that we will cease to give the best of our thought and our agitation to these foreign problems.

We have very little to do with Morocco. We could negotiate.

if need be, another commercial treaty with her in sixty days by sending commissioners for that purpose. In this conference between the European powers, who stand with hands at each other's throats, making an excuse for intervention and a policy that may mean war, the question of commerce will never have an ounce of consideration. The subject of commerce and of our commerce will never have the consideration of a moment in that conference. It is called for another purpose; the interest in it is in another purpose, and it would be much better if we kept our hands off of all such things.

I wanted to say this, and I want to say that I do not agree with the Senator in his apprehension that either the President or the Secretary of State is going to lead us into any trouble in this matter. The conservative instinct will take care of that. We shall get out of it without being entangled in the jealousies and strifes of the European powers. But I think this discussion itself is valuable, and I am very glad it has taken place.

Mr. BACON. Mr. President, I have listened with great pleasure and interest to what the distinguished Senator from Maine has said. I agree with him in almost everything he has said, and I will indicate a little later wherein I unfortunately differ from him, as slight as that difference may be. I certainly agree with him decidedly as to the principles announced on all matters. I thoroughly agree with him, and not only so but I believe that nine out of ten men who have heard him to-day agree with him as to the principles which he has announced, and as to the policy which we should observe and of which we should be mindful. I do not expect to hear any Senator rise in his place to-day and take issue with him as to these principles and policies. There is but one point upon which I differ from the learned Senator. As I understand the position of the Senator, he very frankly says that he would have preferred if we had not been parties to this conference, and he gives the soundest and the best and most unanswerable reasons why his preference in that matter is well founded. But he says that in this particular case we have no particular reason to fear.

Well, Mr. President, I do not believe that any great injury is going to come to us out of this particular case, because I believe, as I hope, that it is going to be settled peaceably; but the question as to whether it is a prudent thing to do is not to be settled by the question of what is most likely to happen; it is to be considered in the light of what may possibly happen. I put to the Senator a question upon the result of this conference as to Germany, for instance, and I only speak of these countries because of the facts involved, and it does not relate in any manner to any relation between us and these countries, and consequently there is no indelicacy in speaking of it. If the result of this conference should be one which Germany would refuse to abide by, what would result? Where would stand the United States? Suppose, for instance, as is given out in the papers—and who will doubt it?—the European governments are looking to the United States as one power which is to exercise a great influence in determining what shall be the order and decree of that conference. It may be that there is a tie vote except the vote of the United States, which may be the one to decide upon the judgment and order of the conference. It may be that the deciding vote of the United States shall determine

a policy to which Germany will object and on account of which she will go to war.

Mr. HALE. Now, I should hope——

Mr. BACON. I hope the Senator will pardon me and let me finish. I always listen to him with the greatest pleasure, but it is better that I should finish the proposition——

Mr. HALE. Very well.

Mr. BACON. Because there is another alternative that I wish to put, and I shall then be more than glad to hear the Senator, as he always enlightens every question which he touches.

Suppose that in the vote, as I was saying, it should turn out as the result that the determination was reached in consequence of the casting vote of the United States Government, and that on account of the decree and order of that conference Germany should refuse to abide by what it should thus determined and should go to war, where would stand the Government of the United States? I understand the Senator, and I hope he will reply afterwards, because I will be more than glad to have him do so.

Mr. President, when European nations get together in a conference for the purpose of settling a question on account of which war is threatened, there is an implied and moral obligation, in the first place, that they will abide by the judgment and decree of the conference; and there is an implied and a moral obligation, in the second place, that if any power refuses to abide by the decree of that conference those who thus agree to it will compel its obedience. They are not there for idle play. They are not there for the solution of abstract conundrums. They are there for the practical and, if need be, the forcible settlement of great questions upon which will depend the powers of the world and who shall exercise them.

When they agree to get together in the conference the country which consents to that conference and then refuses to abide by it is at war with all the others, and all the others are under a moral obligation to enforce it. To-day a large part of Europe, an important part of it, is regulated and controlled by the decree of the Berlin conference. If there should be on the part of any one of the signatory powers an infraction of that decree, every government a party to that decree is under a moral obligation to support every other power in the enforcement of that decree. The United States can not take part in that conference, it can not be one to decide by its vote what shall be the decree, and then refuse to assist in the enforcement of the decree.

Now, I have one more suggestion to make, if the Senator will pardon me. It will be very short, and he can answer them both together, because they are cognate. Suppose, as in the European press it is suggested, that possibly the American delegates will not vote, but that they will simply counsel and advise, and suppose, in consequence of that counsel and advice there is a result reached which otherwise would not be reached, because sometimes a man's counsel and advice is worth very much more than his vote, as is the case with the learned and honorable Senator from Maine. Yet the moral obligation upon the United States, which would thus be imposed by its action would be no less great than the moral obligation in case it had itself voted. In either case to shirk the responsibility of the result brought about by its own act would be a pusillanimity.

Now I will hear from the Senator, although I have not

quite completed what I had to say in response to his valuable suggestions.

Mr. HALE. The point on which the Senator arrested my attention was the proposition that it might happen, not upon some matter touching commerce, not upon some matter affecting our trade, but upon some matter vitally affecting the peace of Europe, that there might be a drawn condition among them, and that the vote of the delegates from the United States would decide the result.

My mind, Mr. President, is as clear as crystal upon what should be done and what I believe would be done in such a grave emergency. Conferences to-day are not like the old-fashioned world conferences, where the world learns the result after weeks and weeks have passed, where battles are fought after treaties have been concluded, but every nation is in hourly and momentary touch with its representative in any great conference.

I should have no doubt that in such a condition, in such a grave emergency as the Senator has arrayed before us, the Secretary of State would telegraph, with the approval of the President, that the United States delegation should decline absolutely participation in that vote.

Mr. BACON. But, if the Senator will pardon me, would it not be better that they should be kept away from there altogether?

Mr. HALE. They are there. I wish they were not, but they are there; and when it comes to a critical condition, if it ever does, I should have no doubt that Secretary Root, backed up by the President, would send a swift dispatch over the wires that in these conditions the American delegation is instructed not to vote, and, if need be, to emphasize its absolute declination to participate in the grave problems that are confronting the powers of Europe, to withdraw from the conference and return home.

Mr. BACON. Exactly.

Mr. HALE. But I do not agree with the Senator in his intimation that that would involve any pusillanimity on our part. That is, we do not go into the conference in the way European powers do. The reason that is given is a slight one—the commercial relations; and if the other things, which mean war, horrid war, between European powers, jealous of each other, confront that conference and our deciding vote shall settle it either way, I have no more doubt than I doubt that I stand here before the Senate, the Administration would withdraw our delegates absolutely, if necessary, and that Europe would go on and fight its own fights out and take the dread arbitrament of war, in which we have no part and ought to have no part. I would not be troubled in the least by the situation that the Senator has pictured.

Mr. BEVERIDGE. Mr. President—

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Georgia yield to the Senator from Indiana?

Mr. BACON. I hope the Senator will allow me to reply to the Senator from Maine.

Mr. BEVERIDGE. I wish to ask only a question for information. How many European powers are requested to attend this conference? Senators have been talking about a deciding vote. I think there are seven.

Mr. BACON. So far as I can gather from the public press,

France, Germany, Great Britain, Austria, Italy, Spain, and Russia.

Mr. BEVERIDGE. Seven. So there can not be a tie vote of seven.

Mr. BACON. Oh, well.

Mr. PRESIDENT. But the Senator talks about a deciding vote.

Mr. BACON. Possibly one of them might withdraw. We can not tell.

Mr. President, replying to the Senator from Maine, as I catch the meaning, the kernel of the Senator's suggestion, when reduced to its last analysis, it at last comes back to what the Senator has substantially stated, although with very much more point than my words, to wit, that we really have no business there. What the Senator has last said, when reduced to its last analysis, means that we have no business there, because, according to the suggestion of the Senator, if the time ever comes when what we are to do is to influence the action of that convention our delegates should be telegraphed to withdraw from it. As the Senator says, we have no business there; it is a mere matter of tinsel, so far as that goes, a mere parade, so that we may hereafter be classed with the great war powers, a mere sending of delegates to cooperate with delegates from European powers as a matter of pompous show and display, with the simple understanding that they are there merely as a matter of ornament and not to accomplish anything, not to attend to anything; but that if it reaches a point where their participation will determine the result they will be telegraphed to withdraw. If so, why are they there at all?

This construction of his last utterance is all consistent with what the Senator from Maine says. The Senator from Maine said in his previous remarks that he not only wishes that they were not there, but he has practically said that they have no business there; that we have nothing to accomplish there for the good of this Government, but that we have great dangers to incur to this Government on account of our participation.

Then he goes further to express his confidence in the President and Secretary of State, and says if it should turn out that our presence there would be a matter which would exercise an influence on the determination of these grave questions by the conference, his mind is clear as crystal that they would be instructed to withdraw from it. I quite agree with the Senator. I have no doubt of that.

But I want to follow still further the suggestion of the Senator in the first part of his interesting remarks as to whether or not he would agree with me in my present contention so far as regards the present instance. Mr. President, if we concede all that the Senator says, if we recognize the propriety and correctness of his want of concurrence in the propriety of mingling in such matters, is the question as to such propriety met by the suggestion that in the present case there is such confidence in the President and in the Secretary of State that no harm will come, that no harm will come in this instance because of the confidence of the Senator that we now have a good President and a wise President and a good and wise Secretary of State?

Conceding that no harm will come, and conceding the soundness of all the confidence which he expresses in these high and distinguished officers, does the Senator shut his eyes to the fact that we are establishing a precedent? If a good President and

a wise President and a good Secretary of State and a wise Secretary of State and a patriotic President and a patriotic Secretary of State can send delegates to a European conference relative to European international controversies, can not an unwise President do it? Can not an unwise Secretary of State do it? Can not a President not so good and not so patriotic and a Secretary of State not so good and so learned and so patriotic as the Senator believes these officers to be also do it?

Mr. HALE. Mr. President—

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Georgia yield to the Senator from Maine?

Mr. BACON. Certainly.

Mr. HALE. I have already stated that such a condition might happen. There might be an Executive and an Administration that believed a policy which embroiled us in war would be to the advantage of the President or the Administration in precipitating a war. I have felt that we have a safe standing with the present President and Secretary of State, and that can not result.

And I do not believe that in such a condition the Senate and House of Representatives are robbed of all power and must wait until the mischief is done. The Senate is not an eleventh-hour body. It has not got to wait until the horse is stolen. There would be under such condition the right in Congress to arrest and prevent the great calamity which would fall upon the country from such an Administration.

Mr. BACON. I quite agree with the Senator in that opinion as to the powers and duties of the Senate.

Mr. NEWLANDS. May I ask the Senator a question?

Mr. BACON. If the Senator from Nevada will permit me to reply to the Senator from Maine first, I will then yield with pleasure.

I quite agree with the Senator from Maine in that regard, Mr. President, and I am only replying to so much of what he said as might be construed into a consent on his part to the propriety of such interference and such entanglement in a case where there happened to be a good President and a good Secretary of State. I said in the earlier part of my remarks that this rule is an absolute rule. It is not a rule with qualifications. It is not a rule with exceptions. It is a rule absolute and without exceptions that not only when we have a good President or when we have a good purpose are we to abstain from these entanglements, and not only when we fail to have them are we going to abstain from such entanglements, but also whether we have a good President or a bad President we are to abstain, because the rule must apply equally in each case.

I was simply endeavoring to point out that while the Senator might be free from apprehensions on account of the particular facts in this case and the particular officials involved, still we are engaged in a matter which establishes a precedent, a precedent which may be followed in the future, and followed by one not good and not wise who may sit in the Executive chair, because it is altogether possible that there may be such a fate in store for this country. The time was when a man who was not a good man had a tie vote for the Presidency of the United States, a man who afterwards was tried for treason to the United States. Now I will hear the Senator from Nevada.

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